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## **We have nothing to fear but tropes themselves: Rhetoric in the speeches of Franklin Delano Roosevelt**

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WE HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR BUT TROPES THEMSELVES: 

 RHETORIC IN THE SPEECHES OF  
FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

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A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
in  
English Composition

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by  
Jeannie Marie Colunga  
June 1993

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Jeannie Marie Colunga


June 1993

Approved by:

  
Milton Clark, Professor, English

June 7, 1993  
Date

  
Jennifer Randisi

  
Kellie Rayburn ✓

## Abstract

During his thirteen years in office Franklin Delano Roosevelt altered the speaking habits of the presidency. Not only did he address the American public directly when he wanted action, but he also spoke to them regularly to keep them apprised of new developments in his administration. These alterations in presidential speaking have helped to form the concept of the "Rhetorical Presidency" which is the prominent method of presidential speaking to this day.

The regularity with which Roosevelt addressed the American public required him to carefully select the type and form of persuasive tropes which would appeal to a diverse population of Americans. These rhetorical devices were required to lend both beauty and power to his words. The most commonly used tropes in Roosevelt's speeches were anaphora, alliteration and metaphor. By closely examining his use of these devices in his speeches and fireside chats, this thesis makes apparent his ability to move the nation.

Further, Roosevelt's skillful use of rhetorical devices is demonstrated by a rhetorical analysis of his First and Fourth Inaugural Addresses. Through an evaluation of these texts, this thesis goes on to provide insight to the way Roosevelt's speeches affected and effected the thoughts and actions of the American public for thirteen years.

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## The Rhetorical Presidency

Franklin Delano Roosevelt served as president for thirteen years, from 1932 until his death in 1945. During this time in office, he led the American people through four campaigns, out of the Depression and into World War II. His sense of personal power, insights, confidence and natural ability contributed to his success as a President and no man has been so nearly master in the White House (Neustadt 118).

One of Roosevelt's most profound and lasting contributions as president came not from his skills as an administrator, but from his skills as an orator. Quotes from Roosevelt's speeches fill the pages of both historical books and collections of quotes. The audience that he selected, and his ability to move this audience, profoundly altered the art of presidential speaking.

Presidents have always made speeches, but it has only been in the past century that their specialized rhetoric has been examined as a genre of its own. The new 20th Century interest in presidential rhetoric by scholars of political science and communication is not so much due to a change in the style of speaking or in the types of rhetorical devices being used as it is a change in the audience being addressed. The availability of new technology in the radio and film industries allowed Roosevelt to directly address

not only government agencies, as in the past, but also the electorate. This new emphasis on voters as the primary audience of presidential speaking brought about a change in the public's concept of the presidency as an institution. The new conception is known now as the "rhetorical presidency."

Richard E. Neustadt explains the dramatic change in presidential audience in his book, Presidential Power: the Politics of Leadership from FDR to Carter, explaining that prior to Roosevelt's presidency the main goal of presidential speaking had been to persuade other people in government, or governing bodies such as Congress, to support the plans of the president. Since his image was based primarily on his administrative abilities, the president had to convince his colleagues, by addressing them directly, that he had enough skill and power to carry out his office. Neustadt reasons that for presidents, "the power to persuade is the power to bargain," and it is vital that the president maintain an image, an ethos, of control, competence and popularity to stay in a position of power for bargaining with Congress (28). The key word here is "persuade," because presidential orders for legislation are not self-executing, and without cooperation from appropriate governmental agencies a president's call for specific legislation will not come to fruition. Furthermore, the

President must put himself across to this political audience in such a way that they will fear the consequences if they undermine his wishes, but have no fear that he may undermine theirs (48).

Roosevelt was deliberate in his presentation of himself, the establishment of his political ethos, to other governmental groups. He avoided flowery, colorful language in addresses to his constituents, speaking directly to the subject in question and providing facts, background information and opinions on the subject. An example of this pragmatic style is his 1935 "Address to Congress on Social Security." He presents the audience with lists of recommended actions, "Three principles should be observed in legislation on this subject. . . . First, . . . Second, . . . Third, . . . ." In the next paragraph he provides more suggestions, listing them numerically, "At this time, I recommend the following types of legislation looking to economic security: 1. Unemployment compensation. 2. Old-age benefits. . . ." (4: 23). This practical use of enumeration in a speech stands in contrast to the generous number of ornamental tropes used in the speeches he directed toward the American public. In speeches to the electorate, he persuaded the American public as much through the beauty of his words as through the validity of his ideas.

It was through these persuasive pleas to the American



people that Roosevelt truly swayed Congress. While he fulfilled his obligations as a presidential speaker as described by Neustadt (that of projecting an ethos of a strong administrator), and did direct Congress through his addresses, his emphasis was not on speaking to the government. He felt that his role was that of a moral leader to the public. His goal was to be "a great president, not a great administrator" (Cronin 284). Roosevelt's preference for speaking to the masses was a new development in presidential oratory and after his thirteen years in office this practice was considered by the voting populace to be the accepted standard for future presidents, leading to a new genre of presidential communication, "The Rhetorical Presidency."

The concept of the rhetorical presidency is new to the twentieth century, a result of technological advances in radio, film, and eventually television. Presidents once addressed the American public only in times of crisis, in annual messages and while campaigning. Any addresses given for the purpose of passing legislation or handling national affairs were given to the government agencies responsible. The only constitutionally required speaking on the president's agenda (once he was safely installed in office) was an annual address to Congress. The president, in this capacity, represented the American Government while elected

representatives on the state level were the actual representatives of the people.

The public generally did not hear or see the president's addresses, but rather read them in newspapers or pamphlets. However, with the advent of radio, film and television, the method and frequency of addressing the public has drastically changed. Presidents now address the public regularly and appeal for their support and action in most major issues. It is now taken for granted that the president has a duty to address the public to defend and promote his actions. Accordingly, more and more the president's ability to govern has become judged by his ability to speak.

Historically, the birth of the rhetorical presidency has been traced as far back as Theodore Roosevelt who was the first President to go over the heads of Congress to the American public in order to argue an issue. But practically, most scholars in the field name Franklin Roosevelt as the first "Rhetorical President" (Tulis 20).

Roosevelt was in a unique position to earn this title. He assumed office in 1933 at a time when the nation was paralyzed by the great depression and mesmerized by Hollywood. Radio, film and newspapers gave him immediate and widespread access to the eyes and ears of the public. Roosevelt could speak directly to the American people

regarding his plans, policies and concerns, to become a sort of movie or radio star -- larger than life and loved by millions. He was ideally suited to use the new forms of media. He had a pleasant voice, with a tenor pitch, and a mild eastern accent (he dropped "r"s and pronounced "again" as it is spelled instead of like "agin"). Roosevelt spoke with a distinct rhythm, tending to divide his clauses in thirds, and to talk slowly and distinctly. Halford R. Ryan explains that Roosevelt spoke slowly to communicate an image of calm control at the helm of state and that this, combined with his quiet delivery, served to separate his image from other, more dramatic orators of the time such as Hitler and Mussolini (Franklin D. Roosevelt's Rhetorical Presidency, hereafter RRP, 21). Hitler and Mussolini harangued their audiences with shouting, fist pounding and lavish ceremonial rallies, imposing themselves as pseudo-deities upon the citizens of their countries. Roosevelt, however, reached the public by calmly speaking to them using rhetorical devices intended to make him appear closer to his voters and to make them feel like participants in the day-to-day operations of his government.

Probably the most famous use Roosevelt made of the media, and prime examples of his "rhetorical presidency," were his "fireside chats." They were always broadcast over the radio, and frequently appeared in newsreels. Through

these vehicles he addressed his public quietly, calmly, in their own familiar surroundings without intervention from opponents or interference from hostile media. He used these fireside chats to keep the public informed of how, why and what he was doing, thereby acknowledging the citizens' concerns about his new policies. Roosevelt explained the purpose of his "First Fireside Chat" in May 1933:

It made clear to the country various facts that might otherwise have been misunderstood and in general provided a means of understanding which did much to restore confidence.

Tonight, eight weeks later, I come for the second time to give you a report; in the same spirit and by the same means to tell you about what we have been doing and what we are planning to do (1: 160).

While most of Roosevelt's chats were used to relay information, many of them were simply pep talks to generate support and enthusiasm for new programs. In some he defended his actions against critical attacks in the press, and often he spoke to calm public fears. His chats were a sort of report card, an accounting of his actions to the public so that they would feel that they truly understood what the president, and therefore the government, was doing. Generally multi-topical, they appealed to a wide audience, and always served to bring him closer to his voters. Samuel Rosenman explains, "I think his fireside chats gave you the impression, as you listened to them on the radio, that he was actually there, talking to you." Rosenman goes on to

say, "you were able to identify yourself with him, as he identifies himself with you, as fighting a common cause" (RRP 32). Roosevelt used these chats to confirm his status, not as leader of the government, but as leader of the people.

In addition to radio, Roosevelt used the newer medium of sound movies to its full advantage. If radio could be used as a temporary escape from the hard times associated with the Depression, the visual medium of the cinema provided an even greater release. Americans swarmed to the movies in the thirties, and Roosevelt used the movie screen to promote his policies through newsreels. During the thirties, 20 million people, or more than 10% of the population, passed through a movie lobby each week (RRP 26). Along with the featured movie they saw a newsreel showing President Roosevelt working to end the Depression, and later, defying Hitler or interacting with American troops. For the first time the voters were able to see a president at work as he was filmed touring factories, signing bills and attending official functions. It is fundamental to note that the media were very careful in their visual portrayal of Roosevelt. Few pictures exist in which his handicap was apparent. Any glimpse of his leg braces was edited out and while he was typically photographed in a seated position during his later terms, few photographs actually show his

wheelchair. With the exception of his fireside chats, he delivered most addresses standing during his first term. This presented an interesting problem for him as he needed to hold onto a podium or railing to form a triad with his leg braces (RRP 14). This need for a physical support greatly limited his ability to gesture and he had to compensate for this in other ways. In his early terms he employed a pumping motion with his left hand, something like a conductor's downbeat, and made points with jabbing motions using his index finger. He used these gestures sparingly, and instead punctuated his speeches with sharp nods of the head to emphasize words. Visually, Roosevelt's most powerful persuasive tool was his face. He had a wide smile which can only be suitably described as a grin. He made dramatic use of facial expressions when giving speeches, screwing up his face to make a comedic point, scowling to emphasize disapproval or outright laughing at his own comments (MPI, Video).

Roosevelt's relationship with the newspapers was far less agreeable than that with members of the radio and film industries. Prior to the advent of radio and film, the newspapers had been the primary source of public information regarding the president. Editors could follow speeches (if they chose to print them at all), with commentary or print only excerpts of speeches. The new media sources, however,

went directly to the audience, removing a great deal of power from the owners and editors of news publications.

While he was heartily disliked by many newspaper owners and editors, his rapport with the reporters from most newspapers was quite warm. The transcripts of his press conferences are punctuated with witticisms from FDR and laughter from his audience. The press was presented not only with general information, but also was given a certain amount of privileged information "off-the-record" to enlist them, it seemed, as co-conspirators in the president's plans. Ryan specifies that Roosevelt liked, and was liked by, most reporters during his terms; it was the editors and owners of the papers with whom he battled (RRP 35).

And battle he did. As the nation's newspapers sniped at Roosevelt through snide headlines and unfriendly editorials, he responded by focusing on other forms of media to reach the electorate and explained to the American public that eighty-five percent of the press was against him, a scapegoat technique which he used throughout his terms in office to develop a conspiratorial connection with the public he reached through other media forms (RRP, 36). This also encouraged him to further develop his reputation as an orator.

Despite attacks by the newspapers Roosevelt's public image remained popular. This popularity can largely be

attributed to his writing staff, which included Archibald MacLeish, Harry Hopkins, Robert Sherwood, and Samuel Rosenman, all of whom worked with him for a number of years. While his staff was vital to his success as a public speaker, it would be both unfair and inaccurate to give his writers too much credit for his speeches. Ryan quotes Roosevelt's writers throughout his book, Franklin D. Roosevelt's Rhetorical Presidency, as they confirmed that Roosevelt was involved with the writing of most of his speeches, and certainly all of his major addresses and fireside chats. Roosevelt felt comfortable enough with the material to ad lib regularly and once, having lost his balance and fallen backstage, scooped up his scattered speech and began the address without the benefit of his notes. He knew the content that well (RRP 18). Ryan defends the existence of a "Rooseveltian style," explaining that the original drafts of speeches revealed numerous Rooseveltian dictations and consistent use of rhetorical devices such as alliteration, anaphora and metaphor. Many quotable phrases when traced back to original drafts, were confirmed as Roosevelt's own inventions (RRP 167).

Given the consistency of the language used, the audience selected, and the tropes employed, it is safe to state that Roosevelt's chosen style of both writing and



delivering speeches was definitely his own, and his writers followed this preference for classical rhetoric.

Roosevelt, during his thirteen years in office, established new standards in public address. His strategy of addressing voters directly was not only facilitated by the availability of new technology, but by Roosevelt's strengths as an orator as well. Roosevelt, using classical rhetorical techniques, was able to touch and move the hearts of the American people and set the standard by which all presidential speaking has since been judged.

## Anaphora, Alliteration and Metaphor in the Speeches of Franklin D. Roosevelt

As a rhetorical president, Roosevelt addressed the American public regularly. Since he was heard so frequently, via radio and newsreels, his speeches had to be not only understandable, but interesting to his audience. Roosevelt used surprisingly few, but obviously ear-catching rhetorical devices in his speeches and fireside chats to present the American public with a desirable ethos, to amuse them, cheer them on, and to persuade them to carry out his plans. Prominent among the devices used were anaphora, alliteration and, above all, metaphor.

Anaphora, the repetition of words at the beginning of lines or phrases, is apparent in many of Roosevelt's speeches. The audience anticipates each repetition and the trope "creates in the reader or hearer a compulsion to continue" which results in a feeling of completion, of fulfillment, when the repetition occurs (Weaver 196). The repetitions satisfy the expectations of the audience.

In a campaign address in Chicago in 1936 Roosevelt briefly used this trope to emphasize the strength of his administration:

Believing in the solvency of business, the solvency of farmers and the solvency of workers, I believe also in the solvency of Government. Your Government is solvent (5: 429-437).

The repetition of the term solvency creates an anticipation

in the audience which is fulfilled by the final declarative statement "Your Government is solvent." The feeling of completion makes the statement welcome and acceptable. The audience's expectation would be satisfied.

In "The Second Inaugural Address," Roosevelt also used anaphora, but this time to emphasize the need to help Americans. Roosevelt began five consecutive phrases identically, building to a closing statement which is one of his most famous:

I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labeled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.

I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions.

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished (2:11-16).

The repetition builds to the final sentence, which incorporates anaphora, to drive Roosevelt's point home in a rapid rhythm which causes the audience to embrace his statement.

In the "Address at the Democratic Victory Dinner" in 1937, Roosevelt again used anaphora, this time at both the beginning and end of a series of statements. In this example

he is trying to force his colleagues in the Democratic party to look at conditions and act immediately:

Here is one-third of a Nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed--NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of farmers wondering whether next year's prices will meet their mortgage interest--NOW!

Here are thousands upon thousands of men and women laboring for long hours in factories for inadequate pay--NOW!

Here are thousand upon thousands of children who should be at school, working in mines and mills--NOW!

Here are strikes more far-reaching than we have ever known, costing millions of dollars--NOW!

Here are Spring floods threatening to roll again down our river valleys--NOW!

Here is the Dust Bowl beginning to blow again--NOW!

If we would keep faith with those who had faith in us, if we would make democracy succeed, I say we must act--NOW! (10: 113-121).

This drumming-in of the events touching the nation combined with the command to act immediately is a stirring combination of fact and exhortation intended to sweep the audience up into the excitement of the speech and inspire them to take an active part in the administration he represents.

Roosevelt uses anaphora again to encourage Americans to continue the war effort in his "Fireside Chat on Economic Stabilization":

It must not be impeded by the faint of heart.

It must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interests of the Nation.

It must not be impeded by those who pervert honest criticism into falsification of fact.

It must not be impeded by self-styled experts

either in economics or military problems who know neither true figures nor geography itself.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And, above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors -- betrayers of America, betrayers of Christianity itself -- would-be dictators who in their hearts and souls have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this Republic do likewise (11: 227-237).

Each repetition of "it must not" sweeps the audience forward to the next, ultimately climaxing with the definitive, and imperative, "it shall not." By building up, through anaphoric repetition, to the final statement, Roosevelt has strengthened his argument because the audience is expectantly waiting to hear the final decisive point. Hearing this point gives the audience the satisfaction of definite closure.

Another rhetorical device, related to anaphora in its use of repetition, commonly used by Roosevelt is alliteration. Percy G. Adams defines alliteration as the repetition of a consonant, vowel, or consonant cluster in stressed syllables close enough to each other for the ear to be affected, perhaps unconsciously, by the repetition (Adams 3). This definition is convenient as it includes the repetition of vowels which is usually called assonance. While the definition is clinical, the actual effect that this trope has on the reader or listener is visceral. Alliteration works as a form of rhythm that stimulates a

heightened awareness of the words in which the rhythm occurs. Henry Lanz uses musical terms to describe the aural affect of alliteration, explaining that while vowels serve the same purpose as musical chords (33), consonants function as time beaters (70). The two work together to make the written and spoken phrase more complete and appealing to the ear. According to Lanz:

Alliteration acts like a powerful drum in the melody of verse. It emphasizes for us the brief musical phrases within the verse, and helps us to count the syllables; applied at the end of each line it announces the completion of the fundamental time interval -- the verse (70).

The use of alliteration makes the speech more rhythmic and more suitable for an audience which is listening to the speaker rather than reading transcripts of the work.

This musical affect lent itself ideally to Roosevelt's speeches, which were written to be heard. Alliteration made his speeches smooth, rhythmic and appealing to the ear. He employed this technique in his "First Inaugural Address," stating that "public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit" (2: 11-16). The rhythm produced by the alliteration of seven "p" sounds, or plosives, carries the audience through the phrase in anticipation of the next "drumbeat" consonant. In the 1937 "Fireside Chat on Legislation," Roosevelt stated that American citizens needed

to "think about and understand the issues involved, and understanding, to approve" (6: 429-437). This use of repeated vowel sounds creates an appealing, lyrical sound, very different from the feeling evoked by the use of consonants in his promise that "neither battles nor burdens of office shall ever blind me" and his observation that "the products of their hands had exceeded the purchasing power of their pocketbooks" both found in "The Fireside Chat on Economic Conditions" in 1938 (7: 236-247). The soothing affect of the repeated vowel sounds, followed by the staccato use of consonants, would first lull the listeners, then jolt them back into the context of his speech, bouncing the reader or hearer through the phrases, and making them more effective as his style caused them to focus on the substance of his speech.

The 1936 "Radio Address on Brotherhood Day," a day set aside by the National Conference of Christians and Jews to promote religious tolerance, was resplendent with alliteration:

We who have faith cannot afford to fall out  
among ourselves . . . you and I must reach across  
the lines between our creeds, clasp hands, and make  
common cause . . . . At our neighbor's fireside we  
may find new fuel for the fires of faith . . . (5:  
85-86).

These devices, even if used strictly for ornament--simply for the beauty of the phrasing--would be especially

appreciated by the audience of orators, in this case ministers, priests, and rabbis, which he was addressing. As broadcast to the public, however, the alliteration also served to move the masses.

Another example from the "Fireside Chat on National Defense" shows the use of "s" sounds:

We cannot have adequate naval defense for all American waters without ships -- ships that sail the surface of the ocean, ships that move under the surface and ships that move through the air" (9: 230-240).

When spoken, this sentence would produce a hissing sound, perhaps like water slipping under a ship or wind sliding over the wings of an airplane. His alliteration in this instance provides the audience with a sensual understanding of his words, causing the listener to feel the force of these ships and planes, and therefore accept his statement.

By far the most visible trope in Roosevelt's speeches is that of metaphor. Roosevelt's use of metaphors involving common themes or using familiar images assisted him in enlisting the American public in his policies by making these policies seem familiar to the audience. Roosevelt was clearly aware of the effect of metaphor on his audience and he employed it to great advantage throughout his presidency. By relating issues to the public, rather than simply explaining them, Roosevelt make these issues more important



to his voters. Once the public accepted his viewpoint, they could pressure Congress into doing the same.

While metaphor is an aesthetically appealing device, it is also an extremely powerful tool of language. Studies by Lakoff and Johnson show that the human thought process and conceptual system are metaphorically structured and defined (6). Once a listener or reader has experienced a new idea in terms of another and more familiar one, he or she automatically categorizes them and reasons about them as they pertain to the familiar concept (25). Because this reaction is, by and large, unconscious, our culture is particularly susceptible to the use by others of metaphor as a persuasive device. Roosevelt, like all skilled rhetors, used this susceptibility to his advantage when presenting new ideas to the American public, explaining new concepts metaphorically, or by appealing to their sense of irony or humor, using amusing metaphors to achieve his goals.

Lakoff and Johnson assert that our culture believes in and seeks an objective, absolute truth. People in power are in a position to impose metaphors upon us because their positions of authority give them access to the media. Once the audience accepts the metaphor presented as pertaining to them, they subconsciously understand and accept the speaker's metaphorical expression as "truth" (157). An example of how Roosevelt hoped his audience would

"internalize" metaphor, and accept it as truth, occurs when he attempted to convince the American public, which was determined to stay neutral, that the Axis was a danger to America.

To assist his argument, Roosevelt used light/dark metaphors to elevate the Allies and degrade the Axis. This strategy is an excellent example of what Lakoff and Johnson refer to as orientational metaphors, assumptions based on the spatial orientation of things to our bodies. Metaphorical assumptions such as "up" being good and "down" being bad, "warm" being better than "cold" and looking "forward" being more positive than looking "back," are all examples of orientational metaphors (57). These are metaphors mostly influenced by viewing the world with the human body as a reference point. We stand "up," we move "forward" (132). Some of these examples are not only physically oriented but culturally as well. An example is the light versus dark opposition. Physically, humans are not nocturnal animals, and therefore we are not comfortable in the dark. Culturally, we are disposed to thinking of "light" as good and "dark" as bad. Our cowboy heroes wear white while such evil characters as "Black Bart" have wardrobes appropriate to their names. This response to light and dark is also a vital part of Judeo-Christian belief, which is filled with references to light as life and salvation and to

dark not only as evil, but also as the "shadow of death." Luke explains that Christ came to earth, "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death to guide our feet into the way of peace" (Holy Bible, Lk 1:79). John also describes Christ: "In him was life; and the life was the light of men" (Holy Bible, Jn 1:4).

In 1941, when Roosevelt was encouraging the American public to make personal sacrifices in order to supply Britain and other Allied countries, he referred to democracy as a light:

The light of democracy must be kept burning. To the perpetuation of this light, each of us must do his own share. . . . And there are many more millions in Britain and elsewhere bravely shielding the great flame of democracy from the blackout of barbarism. It is not enough for us merely to trim the wick or polish the glass. The time has come when we must provide the fuel in ever-increasing amounts to keep that flame alight (10: 65).

Few listeners would relish darkness of any type, and if it is the listener's duty to protect the light, then it is a deep-rooted, visceral reaction to protect it. If the metaphor is accepted, then the listener would feel responsible for the concept represented by the metaphor -- in this case democracy.

Later that year, in "The Radio Address Announcing Unlimited National Emergency," Roosevelt referred to the German invasion of Europe, "the shadows deepened and lengthened. And the night spread over Poland, Denmark,

Norway, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and France." In this same address he warned his audience of the impending war using the same technique, stating "I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead" (10 181-194). Not only does the imagery of the current shadow and darkness evoke a reaction of fear, but the image of something even darker lurking in the future triggers the basic fear of the unknown to manipulate Roosevelt's listener into fearing, and therefore disliking, the enemy.

Roosevelt also used a variety of metaphors to help the American public better understand the workings of the government. Using familiar references to unfamiliar systems or concepts helped the American people not only understand the new ideas being presented to them, but also to see their new president as a man who understood the same things they did. Kenneth Burke comments that the use of stylistic identification such as those proposed by Roosevelt, causes the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interests. The speaker can then draw on this understanding and identification of interests to establish a rapport with his audience and, therefore, persuade them to act on their own behalf (46). Roosevelt must convince the audience that by supporting and working for his administration they would

be helping themselves as his policies were intended for their benefit.

Roosevelt commonly employed metaphors involving different types of animals when trying to make a point. One of his most compelling images was presented in a fireside chat in 1941 when he warned the American public "when you see a rattlesnake poised to strike, you do not wait until he has struck before you crush him."<sup>1</sup> He goes on to explain that, "These Nazi submarines and raiders are the rattlesnakes of the Atlantic" (10: 390). Another animal reference appeared in a fireside chat in 1942. This metaphor presents the reader with many images:

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same people, afraid that we may be sticking our necks out, want our national bird to be turned into a turtle. But we prefer to retain the eagle as it is--flying high and striking hard. (11: 107-108).

Roosevelt's example is what Lakoff and Johnson refer to as a "complex" metaphor, an overlapping of two separate metaphors to enhance the understanding of a specific concept. In a complex metaphor like this one, the public must accept each facet of the metaphor in order to accept

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<sup>1</sup>The term "fireside chat," unless used in the title of a specific address, is not capitalized.

the unit, and therefore the concept being discussed, as a whole (97).

The American public would have no problem accepting the eagle as representative of the United States. Our national symbol would be immediately recognizable. But to complete the metaphorical structure the public must be familiar with the proverbial ostrich who buries his head in the sand when danger approaches hoping that by not seeing his enemy, his enemy will not see him. The listener would also need to understand the reference to the turtle who can pull his head into his shell for protection and ignore occurrences around him. The ostrich must be perceived as foolish, the turtle as impossible, and both options must be rejected as demeaning and inappropriate behavior for an eagle for Roosevelt's example to be clear and his anti-isolationist argument to be accepted.

The vast and diverse audience of Roosevelt's rhetorical presidency required him to find metaphors that would help it to understand the very system it was being asked to support. Roosevelt helped his audience understand its government by using farm analogies, sports stories, mechanical metaphors and even some literary references. In his "1936 Address in Rhode Island" he compared the previous government to a negligent owner of a machine, "When this Administration came to Washington . . . the machine of our

national economy had completely broken down." He further explained that, "For twelve long years it had been neglected by those who believed that machines did not need tending." He then went on to explain his own "mechanics" in government: "We tried to rebuild that machine, to modernize it and to turn on the purchasing power" (5: 517). Roosevelt makes it clear in this description that upon assuming the presidency he was forced to roll up his own proverbial shirt-sleeves and to repair the damage done to the government by the past administration. This image of the president as a mechanic is a good example of the way he tried to portray himself as a leader sympathetic to the plight of the average American and to promote an ethos acceptable to the average, working citizen.

In another speech, one to the Young Democratic Club of America, he describes party politics in terms of an automobile, a metaphor that a generation enamored of the automobile would certainly appreciate and respond to:

Party organization is the vehicle by which the mobilized sentiment of the United States gets anywhere. If the chauffeurs of the organization are wise in picking the course, the going is good and the destination aimed at is reached. If, on the other hand, they are witless, the organization will find itself on a rocky road and the probabilities of flat tires and other breakdowns are so great that the will of the people gets nowhere. . . . Incidentally, the progress of our political car is not helped by the clamor of the back-seat drivers who point out the apparent smoothness of the detours

of compromise and subterfuge, and complain of the speed of our going (8: 232).

The audience could assume that the chauffeurs represent party leaders, holding positions of considerable responsibility, but servants nonetheless. The back-seat drivers in question would then be the citizens or party members who either give orders or go along for the ride, never actually taking part in decision making, but criticizing every move the driver makes. If the audience were to look at the metaphor in terms of class distinction and inequalities, the chauffeur would represent the public who actually do all the work and get all of the blame with no reward. The backseat driver would then be the rich (Republicans?) who try to lure the public from the route mapped for them by Roosevelt's government.

Baseball was incorporated in "The Second Fireside Chat" in 1933 as he explained his new policies, "I have no expectation of making a hit every time I come to bat. What I seek is the highest possible batting average, not only from myself but for the team" (2: 165). This analogy incorporates the President himself, casting him as a team player (of the great American pastime), with either the government or the American public, or both, as the team in question.

In another example of his varied use of metaphor,



Roosevelt described the government in farming terms during a 1937 fireside chat:

Last Thursday I described the American form of government as a three horse team provided by the Constitution to the American people so that their field might be plowed. The three horses are, of course, the three branches of government -- the Congress, the Executive and the Courts. . . . Those who have intimated that the President of the United States is trying to drive that team overlook the simple fact that the President, as Chief Executive, is himself one of the three horses.

It is the American people themselves who are in the driver's seat.

It is the American people themselves who want the furrow plowed.

It is the American people themselves who expect the third horse to pull in unison with the other two. (6: 123-124).

His ability to use farm analogies endeared him to a public who could easily have been taken aback by his pseudo-aristocratic background and patrician accent. Roosevelt had constantly to prove to the American people that he understood life at the level of the average citizen. His promotion of this ethos required that he use metaphors which appealed to a wide audience, not just an educated few.

He continues to explain the government, using a physical metaphor, which any listener could relate to, in "The Third Inaugural Address," when he compares a nation to a person:

A Nation, like a person, has a body -- a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested, in a manner that measures up to the standards of our time.

A Nation, like a person, has a mind -- a mind that

must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its neighbors -- all the other Nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.

A Nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future -- which calls forth the most sacred guarding of its present (10: 4-5).

During a period of time when isolationism was the predominate sentiment, the American public was being encouraged, metaphorically, to think of the government as they would of themselves, and to take care of both.

One of Roosevelt's great loves was for the sea, and between the yachting of his youth and his years as Secretary of the Navy he had a background which made it easy to incorporate nautical imagery into his speeches. In a 1935 fireside chat he used the structure of a ship to explain the complexity of legislating:

The job of creating a program for the nation's welfare is, in some respects, like the building of a ship. . . . When one of these ships is under construction and the steel frames have been set in the keel, it is difficult for a person who does not know ships to tell how it will finally look when it is sailing the high seas.

It may seem confused to some, but out of the multitude of detailed parts that go into the making of the structure, the creation of a useful instrument for man ultimately comes. It is that way with the making of a national policy (4: 132).

The metaphorical "ship of state" is clearly represented to the public as a strong, well made, and useful entity. He calls for the people's trust in his "shipbuilding" abilities

in creating specific legislation as he acknowledges that "it is difficult for a person who does not know ships" and "it may seem confused to some," but still asks for their support. If the people accept the government as a ship, metaphorically speaking, then the President would, no doubt, be perceived in the role of Captain, the government as the crew, and the American public could be the passengers, navigator, or any role they like. The ship image suggests interesting connotations as ships are self-contained units requiring a crew and little more. They are independent entities, capable of going where they please and avoiding what they please. Isolated in many ways, they are susceptible to the wrath of nature. Depending on the listener, the ship metaphor could be an image of an independent, efficient, "ship-shape" government, or a vulnerable entity in need of safe harbor.

Roosevelt uses nautical metaphors on other occasions as well, motivating Americans to expedite work on his New Deal with the statement, "to put it into naval terms . . . the speed of a fleet is the speed of the slowest vessel in the fleet" (3: 428). In a 1935 speech he congratulated the public, and himself, with the comment, "We have come through stormy seas into fair weather" (3: 403). He also portrayed himself physically as the ship of state, commenting that, "My anchor is democracy -- and more democracy" (6: 331).

This reminded the public that the American form of government ultimately controlled the President's actions and that they themselves could put a stop to events at any time through the channels of democracy.

Roosevelt's skillful manipulation of metaphor is demonstrated especially in the response of the American public to Roosevelt's "New Deal," a program initiated to rejuvenate the American economy through wide-sweeping governmental changes and unprecedented involvement in the private sector. The name of the plan itself was presented to the public as a metaphorical name to make what many of them feared to be "Socialism" more palatable. Roosevelt had to persuade his audience to accept drastic changes in national policy, private business and in their whole way of thinking about the Federal government. They would be called upon to make sacrifices, accept reorganization of familiar governmental structures and to work together. Accordingly, he needed to unite them in such a way that they would willingly set the well-being of the nation ahead of their own needs, and accept new governmental controls in their everyday lives. He won their cooperation largely through the use of military metaphor.

Military rhetoric is frequently employed during presidential campaigns: "winning the election," "victory dinners," "attacking the opposition" and "strategy" are all

commonly used terms. Indeed, "campaign" is a word meaning to plot military maneuvers. Having served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President Wilson, Roosevelt was familiar with military terminology and used it after he was elected in order to enlist support for his "New Deal." By "declaring war" on the Depression, Roosevelt used his rhetoric to create in the public an "us versus them" attitude toward the Depression by giving it a metaphorical body. This use of military language continued to be effective as Roosevelt redirected the rhetoric from the Republican party toward his new foe.

Roosevelt's use of war metaphors is foreshadowed in a radio address he made at Albany in 1932. In this address he compared the Republican leadership to Napoleon, accusing them of forgetting their "economic army," the people who support them. He ended the speech with the statement: "It is high time to admit with courage that we are in the midst of an emergency at least equal to that of war. Let us mobilize to meet it" (1: 624-627). Once the image of the American people "mobilizing" to face the depression was conjured, and the public subconsciously accepted the metaphor and resultant feelings of camaraderie, then discipline and self-sacrifice for duty would surface. The audience would turn themselves into their own image of a

soldier enlisted in a common cause and fighting a common enemy.

In "The First Inaugural Address" Roosevelt declared war on the Depression, assuming his duties as leader of "this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems," with the following statement:

I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis -- broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe (2: 11-16).

The President solidified this metaphorical state of war by calling the Congress into extraordinary session the next day just as would be done for an actual proclamation of war eight years later, after Pearl Harbor. In the same month he reinforced the military tone by founding a federally-funded program to provide work for unemployed workers. It was, I believe, neither an accident that this first New Deal organization--and many of those that followed--was under the partial jurisdiction of the Department of War, nor coincidental that the name, the Civilian Conservation Corps, (CCC), had a distinctly military sound.

He reinforced the pseudo-military status of the CCC at an informal address to relief administrators when he discussed the "many fronts" upon which the national problem was being tackled and stated that the popular response to the Corps "can be compared with the mobilization carried on

in 1917" (2: 238), referring to the U.S. entry into World War I.

In "The Third Fireside Chat" he discusses the ideas at the heart of his "nationwide attack on unemployment." This is a good example of what Lakoff and Johnson, following traditional historians of rhetoric, call "personification," an instance when a physical object or an idea is described in human terms. This allows us to further understand the concept in terms of our own motivations, characteristics and activities (33). We internalize the concept, associate it with ourselves, and thus make it a personal issue. In this case "unemployment" is personified as an unseen adversary which can physically be fought. In the same address, he compares the citizens of the U.S. to soldiers--encouraging feelings of camaraderie and patriotism. He even issued "badges" for those participating in his New Deal programs:

In war, in the gloom of night attack, soldiers wear a bright badge on their shoulders to be sure that comrades do not fire on comrades. On that principle, those who cooperate in this program must know each other at a glance. That is why we have provided a badge of honor for this purpose, a simple design with a legend, "We do our part," and I ask that all those who join with me shall display that badge prominently. It is essential to our purpose (2: 295-303).

Again, Roosevelt has placed the American citizen in the role of a soldier. The badge would be a form of identification,

an indication of rank or a medal of honor--in any case a desirable item.

During the campaign for his second term Roosevelt reminded the American public, "Three and a half years ago we declared war on the depression. You and I know today that war is being won" (5: 522). He had started his first campaign by declaring war, and he campaigned for his second term by proclaiming that in his role as Commander in Chief he had led the metaphorical army to a victory which was close at hand.

The war rhetoric was especially recognizable in a "Campaign Address at Madison Square Garden" in which he defined the issue most important to the public in 1936 as, "the preservation of their victory" and described the nation's efforts to battle the Depression as a crusade. By referring to a crusade Roosevelt lent a religious tone to his war rhetoric, imposing a sort of holy obligation on his followers. He congratulated those in his army who stood with him in his campaign in 1932, and welcomed the new recruits of 1936 standing with him, loosely quoting John Paul Jones, "we have only just begun to fight" (5: 566-573).

In another campaign speech in Massachusetts he waved off those critics who accused him of spending too liberally with the statement "in the barrage that we laid down against



the depression we could not stop firing to haggle about the price of every shell. We kept on firing and fighting." And Roosevelt warned the voting populace that "Without that victory we cannot have the kind of America we know and love and want our children to live in" (5: 642-644).

He accepted his renomination with the speech which introduced the popular phrase: "This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny." His final comment in the speech: "I accept the commission you have tendered me. I join with you. I am enlisted for the duration of the war" placed him not so much in the role of Commander in Chief as it did in the role of a commanding officer in the proverbial trenches with the average citizen (5: 230-236). This promoted the president's desired ethos, that of an ordinary citizen accessible and in touch with his public, which in turn, would make the public more open to his leadership.

In a 1938 fireside chat he tells the American public of an address he made to Congress in which he chastised them for only accepting two of three Presidential proposals:

I said to the Congress: "You and I cannot afford to equip ourselves with two rounds of ammunition where three rounds are necessary . . . we may find ourselves without ammunition before the enemy is routed. If we are fully equipped with the third round of ammunition, we stand to win the battle against adversity" (7: 241).

With the "rounds" representing his proposals, Roosevelt

tells his public that if they lose the battle it is because Congress failed to carry out their duties.

It is interesting to note that his use of war as a metaphor did not change noticeably after the declaration of war against Japan in 1941 except that it was not used as often. As a shrewd political orator, Roosevelt knew that he did not have to create a metaphorical enemy or conjure a feeling of national unity during the war; these emotions were already present in force. In a "Fireside Chat on Economic Stabilization" in 1942 he treats the civilian population as another branch of the military. He urges them to keep the "economic structure of our country fortified and secure," stating that:

there is one front and one battle where everyone in the United States--every man, woman, and child -- is in action, and will be privileged to remain in action throughout this war. That front is right here at home (11: 227-238).

He further encourages the idea of a civilian army during an address to Congress in 1944:

I have often said that there are no two fronts for America in this war. There is only one front. . . . When we speak of total effort, we speak of the factory and the field, and the mine as well as of the battleground -- we speak of the soldier and the civilian, the citizen and his Government" (13: 42).

Promoting the concept of a civilian army enlisted all American citizens in a common cause giving them a status comparable to that of a member of the military. This concept

was intended to keep personal and national pride at a high level. These examples of wartime rhetoric do not differ greatly from the rhetoric used in the speeches Roosevelt made to support the New Deal.

At this stage of Roosevelt's rhetorical presidency, it was not necessary to motivate the American people to new action so much as it was to encourage them to continue with programs that already existed. The feeling of national involvement with the war was already present, so instead of using sweeping military rhetoric in his speeches he began relating wartime stories citing the heroism of U.S. citizens to promote national pride and, no doubt, to shame those civilians who complained about wartime conditions and sacrifices. In a single 1942 fireside chat he related three stories of American heroism and ingenuity. The stories included a story about a missionary who joined the Navy to help care for wounded soldiers, a submarine which had been sunk, salvaged, and had returned to the seas and the story of a bombing mission in which a single plane escaped pursuit by 18 Japanese planes (11: 227-238). The recounting of such stories served to keep civilian citizens abreast of, and therefore involved with, the activities of U.S. troops further enforcing the feeling of participation by civilians.

For those who weren't stirred by rhetorical war drums, Roosevelt used the concept of the "good neighbor" to draw

the country together. By urging Americans to identify with their own concept of the idyllic relationship between neighbors Roosevelt brought both national and international problems to a familiar level with which the American public could easily identify. By further defining the concept of the ideal neighbor in his speeches, he was able to guide Americans through the depression and into the war using this same metaphor. Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor Policy" urged Americans to help each other, to improve the state of the nation, to improve world conditions, to remain neutral in the European conflict and finally to align with the Allies as well.

In his first term Roosevelt encouraged a spirit of national cooperation by referring generally to the policy as a spirit of unselfishness on the part of all American citizens. He began by praising the good neighbor in the literal sense, describing "a greater willingness on the part of the individual to help his neighbor and to live less unto and for himself alone" in a 1938 speech in Oklahoma (7: 445). The good neighbors he described were Americans caring for and helping other Americans.

This unselfish attitude changed drastically when the war in Europe escalated. Suddenly the concept of "good neighbor" became the means to encourage isolationistic sentiment aimed to keep the United States out of the war.

"Peace reigns among us today because we have agreed, as neighbors should, to mind our own businesses. We have renounced . . . any right to interfere in each other's domestic affairs," he explained in a 1940 address to the Pan American Union (9: 160). Later that year, in a speech to the Pan American Scientific Congress, he stated, "The overwhelmingly greater part of the world . . . prays that the hand of neighbor shall not be lifted against neighbor" (9: 184). By expanding the "neighbor" metaphor to include surrounding countries, Roosevelt encouraged Americans to embrace the rest of the world as friends to be worked with and protected. This would be valuable in promoting wartime assistance to Allies who were victims of Axis aggression. The Axis countries became, therefore, bad neighbors.

Roosevelt's manipulation of the "Good Neighbor Policy" is a good example of his flexibility in using metaphor. For the first years of his presidency Roosevelt used the policy to encourage Americans to work together. When he wanted to encourage isolationism, he then altered his presentation of a good neighbor to encourage Americans to tend to American affairs and remain neutral in the escalating war in Europe. When occurrences in Europe pointed toward war on a global scale, Roosevelt found yet another application for the Good Neighbor policy. Roosevelt knew that America would have to enter the war at some point, and in 1940 when Italy

announced its alliance with Germany, Roosevelt once again used the "neighbor" metaphor to prepare the American public for the international reaction to the alliance. "On this tenth day of June, 1940, the hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor" (9: 263). The Italians had decisively turned away from the Allies.

Roosevelt had already established Europeans as metaphorical neighbors, and Americans had heard the virtues of neighborly cooperation extolled for seven years. When the image of the striking dagger was presented, it must have terrified and appalled Roosevelt's listeners. They felt betrayed and reacted strongly against Italy and Germany for having shattered their feelings of security.

Another application of metaphor can be found in the use of "identification," a technique in which the audience accepts itself as part of the metaphor presented. Kenneth Burke discusses the use of identification for persuading an audience in A Rhetoric of Motives. There, he examines several examples to show that by alluding to a well-known story the rhetor can bring the audience to identify with the main character or characters in question. Knowing the outcome of the narrative, the audience will, of its own accord, continue the story--inserting themselves or their leader as the main character--and it becomes a sort of prophecy which they themselves set out to complete, like the

narrative (Burke 19). Roosevelt employed this technique frequently using literary and biblical allusions and stories.

The good neighbor policy, for instance, was enhanced by references to the story of Cain and Abel, quoting Cain's statement, "Am I my brother's keeper?" (7: 445) and to the parable of the Good Samaritan, "they 'pass by on the other side' . . . most of them consider themselves excellent citizens" (7: 166).

If the listeners identify with the first quote, (Genesis 4:9) and therefore identify with Cain, they will play the story out in their own minds, follow it to its conclusion and apply this conclusion to themselves. If they are not their brothers' keepers, meaning in the context of the speech that they don't care for their fellow man, then they, too, will be guilty of their "brothers'" deaths just as Cain was. Roosevelt's listeners presumably know that this would cause them to be exiled from other men and cast from the sight of God. In other words, if they apply the metaphor to themselves, or in Burke's terminology "identify" with Cain, they will conclude that if they do not participate in the good neighbor policy they will not be merely "wrong" or "different," but wicked people and social outcasts.

The second example refers to Luke 10:33, the parable of the Good Samaritan. In this parable a man who has been

attacked by thieves is left by the roadside because several passersby don't want to get involved with his problems. Finally a passing Samaritan, (an enemy of the victim's people), stops and helps him. This man is extolled in Sunday School classes as the ideal neighbor, the embodiment of the Christian spirit. If Roosevelt's audience were to pass by a person in need, that is if they refused to help a fellow American, they would be the antithesis of the "Good Samaritan" whom they have been told to emulate since childhood. Roosevelt refers to this parable again in a 1936 campaign address, "Your Government is still on the same side of the street with the Good Samaritan and not with those who pass by on the other side" (5: 572). With this quote, Roosevelt assures his audience that the government is still there to help them -- it is still thinking of the welfare of the American people.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself," Roosevelt told his audience in a 1943 speech (11: 369). This quote from Matthew 19:19 is as much a platitude to modern man as it is a religious statement. In keeping with its religious origin, this statement would bestow an implied relationship of messiah and disciple between Roosevelt and those who endorsed his "Good Neighbor Policy."

Another notable use of biblical identification came in "The First Inaugural Address" when Roosevelt referred to the



"practices of the unscrupulous moneychangers," referring to Wall Street bankers. He continued, saying that "The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths" (2: 11-16). Roosevelt was referring to the biblical story of Jesus's cleansing of the temple, which was being used by merchants and moneychangers. Christ threw down their tables and chased them from the temple, accusing them of turning the place into "a den of thieves" (Matthew, 21:12). If the identification technique were to work in this example, the audience would accept the image of Roosevelt driving unscrupulous bankers from their powerful positions. This would cast the president in the role of savior. This identification is an excellent example of Roosevelt's skill in inspiring faith in his ethos and exemplifies his skill as a rhetor.

On a humorous, but still effective level, Roosevelt caused the audience to identify with Lewis Carroll's most famous character, Alice, in a 1932 campaign address, casting Hoover's government in the roles of Alice's unusual acquaintances in Wonderland. This particular identification was particularly complex as it requires the audience to be familiar not only with Carroll's work, but also with Hoover and his administration.

It has been suggested that the American public was apparently elected to the role of our old friend, Alice in Wonderland. I agree that Alice was peering into a wonderful looking-glass of the wonderful economics. White Knights had great schemes of unlimited sales in foreign markets and discounted the future ten years ahead.

The poorhouse was to vanish like the Cheshire Cat. A mad hatter invited everyone to "have some more profits." . . . A cynical Father William in the lower district of Manhattan balanced the sinuous evil of a pool-ridden stock market on the end of his nose (1: 674).

Roosevelt lampoons the previous administration, describing Hoover's America in terms of an impossible, curious and possibly sinister Wonderland.

Roosevelt goes on to compare the Republican leadership to Humpty Dumpty, ridiculing their policies just as Alice asks questions of Humpty while he balances precariously on "a high wall called the tariff" (1: 675). These metaphorical representations served to undermine the past administration, representing it as nonsensical because Wonderland was a land of nonsense and impossibility.

Roosevelt also used a form of patriotic identification to motivate the public. Long before John F. Kennedy's "New Frontier" image, Roosevelt invoked the pioneer metaphor to reinforce the progress being made by his new policies. He refers to the "pioneering spirit and understanding perspective of the people of the United States" as a chief factor in improving world-wide economic conditions (2: 492). He compared the dreams of the pioneers to the hopes of the

present generation of Americans in a 1938 speech when he explained that both generations were similar in their characters and wants:

. . . We celebrate the coming of a different type of men and women -- the first battalions of that organized army of occupation . . . . An organized society, unafraid to meet temporary adventure, but serious in seeking permanent security for men and women and children and homes. . . . To them the use of government was but another form of the cooperation of good neighbors (7: 427-431).

This comparison of modern-day citizens to early pioneers would excite the spirit of adventure and motivate Americans to continue their work and sacrifices, just as the early pioneers did, in anticipation of the future.

He continued with the pioneer metaphor, referring to "a frontier of social and economic problems," and encouraging the public to "bring law and order to it" (7: 427). He defined the analogy more clearly in a speech in 1934 when he stated:

There is a very definite analogy between those days and our days. Upon the pioneers of these great stretches of the Central West were forced new activities because of the circumstances of their surroundings. They were compelled to hew out a path, a path that was dependent not on the ax and the rifle alone, but upon their ability to govern themselves in new ways as well (3: 456-457).

The audience was encouraged to follow the example of early pioneers in accepting creative government and altered lifestyles caused by temporary circumstances knowing that the pioneers had succeeded--so too would they.

By using rhetorical devices, both conscious and unconscious, to play on the emotions of the American public, Roosevelt attempted to manipulate his audiences into supporting the vast majority of his new policies and programs. Many of the ideas presented to his audience were radical for those times, and had Roosevelt not presented these ideas to his public with such skill, it is possible that his administration would have failed or that he would have been much less successful in implementing the policies that were central to his presidency.

Consistently during his terms in office, Roosevelt relied on his skillful use of classical rhetorical style and devices to move the American public and stamp his ethos on the national psyche. An examination of speeches in their entirety demonstrates his skill in incorporating any number of devices to set his addresses in motion and, ideally, to persuade his audience.

## A Rhetorical Analysis of The First and Fourth Inaugural Addresses

To truly appreciate the polished technique apparent in Roosevelt's work, it is necessary to examine, not only the specific tropes used, but also the skill with which he combined many rhetorical devices to present the electorate with a solid, inspiring, and convincing address. Roosevelt's First and Fourth Inaugural Addresses are good examples of the scope of his style. The two speeches mark the beginning of his career as President and the first days of his final term. While the substance of the two speeches is radically different, Roosevelt's preference for classical rhetorical techniques to persuade his audience, in both cases, is apparent.

The First Inaugural Address of Franklin D. Roosevelt is not set up in the obvious introduction-body-conclusion outline popular with many speakers. Rather, it follows the more classical format such as that described by Aristotle in The Art of Rhetoric. Aristotle states in that piece: "A speech has two parts. It is necessary to state the subject, and then to prove it (III: 425). Aristotle recommends that, if necessary, the speech be broken into four sub-categories: exordium, the prelude in which the speaker introduces his subject and establishes his ethos; statement, in which a narrative describes the subject and justifies addressing the

issue; proof, in which facts are demonstrated; and epilogue, which restates the case to complete the persuasion of the audience (III: 427-453)

The beginning paragraph of The First Inaugural Address definitely fits the category of exordium. He immediately applies himself to framing the image he wished to project in order to persuade his audience, his ethos. Aristotle emphasizes the importance of establishing ethos:

For it makes a great difference with regard to producing conviction -- especially in demonstrative, and, next to this, in forensic oratory -- that the speaker should show himself to be possessed of certain qualities and that his hearers should think that he is disposed in a certain way towards them; and further, that they themselves should be disposed in a certain way towards him (169).

Aristotle further explains that the three qualities necessary to portray are good sense, virtue, and goodwill (171).

In this first section Roosevelt acknowledges that the American public expects him to "address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels." He continues, stating that "This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly." "Frankly" and "boldly" are both strong, courageous words, but the preceding statement follows the text of the oath administered in an American court of law when swearing-in a witness, and rings with the unspoken "So help me God"

which would normally follow. This statement would strongly affect the ethos presented to his audience. They would understand not only that he is honest, but that he feels answerable to God. He further states, "Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today," yet another assurance of his integrity, honesty and courage.

Roosevelt continues, "So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself . . ." an alliterative statement that appeals not only to the ear of the audience, but also instructs the audience antithetically which, Aristotle explains, is both pleasing to the ear and instructive (III: 413). Roosevelt continues to describe the fear as ". . . nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance." This statement uses both anaphora, in "unreasoning" and "unjustified," and a graphic image of "paralyzing terror" which brings to mind the feeling one gets during a nightmare when one cannot turn to run from some subconscious pursuer.

Roosevelt ends the paragraph with the statement "I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days." This statement compels the audience to be participants in his government and prepares them for the narrative of the speech to follow.

The narrative, or "statement" as Aristotle calls it,

serves to justify the validity of the orator's topic. Roosevelt provides this by sketching an overview of problems facing the nation. He includes the American people as allies in facing the issues in question, "on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties." With this statement Roosevelt makes himself one of the people. He continues in this first section of the narrative to spell out the problems facing the nation and to use rhetorical devices to emphasize their threat to the American public, thus motivating the public to abhor them. He begins to explore the problems facing them, using a winter metaphor to illustrate the bleak economy, "the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side." He then encourages the audience, explaining that "we are stricken by no plague of locusts" -- a biblical identification referring to the plagues sent by God to punish the Egyptian nation. He continues by stating: "Plenty is at our doorstep . . . ." reassuring the American people that their situation is far from hopeless.

Roosevelt continues his "statement," presenting his audience with evidence of a combatable enemy. Roosevelt lays the blame for the poor economy on the doorsteps of the banking and finance industries, emphasizing that the financial crisis facing the American people was not a plague



sent by God, but rather the result of abuse and corruption. Using a biblical reference, he states: "The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths." His use of this example casts him in the role of a savior of the economy. He continues in the religious vein, metaphorically, making the public into their own ministers by stating: "our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow man." With this comment he encourages Americans to be more concerned with their fellow man than with themselves or with money. Roosevelt then asserts that wealth must not be the standard of success, remarking (in a paragraph replete with alliteration), that politics should no longer be used for profit: "public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit." Roosevelt continued the thought, using the same device, but with "b" and then "s" sounds, "and there must be an end to a banking and business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing." Roosevelt immediately follows with assonance, using "on" sounds, " . . . confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance . . . ." This use of alliteration would appeal

to the audience's ear, carrying them through this section of the speech by virtue of the rhythm of the words. Enjoying the sounds they hear, they would unconsciously respond positively to or agree with the statements and be more open to them. Roosevelt also personifies the concept of confidence by describing it as languishing unless it is provided with an ideal environment.

Roosevelt begins his "proof" portion of his address at this point. He begins work to persuade the American public to follow his plans. He presents his programs in a manner which brooks no opposition -- as firm facts, as a definite plan of action. He exhorts the public to act following the plans he will present to them as President. He immediately calls the nation to change, demanding "action and action now." He then explains that the task of restoring the economy will be treated as "we would treat the emergency of war,"--the first call-to-arms against the Depression.

Roosevelt uses a number of rhetorical devices to assist him in persuading his audience. Using anaphora, he informs the public that "The task can be helped by . . ." and then provides a number of examples describing how "It can be helped . . . ." He continues with the statement, "There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it." He concludes with the phrase "We must act and act quickly" (which neatly echoes

his earlier call for "action and action now"). By using anaphora first, he builds the paragraph up to the final call to act, making it a climactic statement.

He again incorporates anaphora in his next paragraph, listing a number of safeguards necessary against a return of corrupt government with the repeated phrase "there must be . . . ." This firm statement reinforces his presentation of his programs as facts of life which the audience cannot deny.

Alliteration is called into service once again as Roosevelt explains to his public that "in special session . . . I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States." The alliteration in this phrase would sweep the audience along, giving them the feeling that progress is being made.

Roosevelt speaks further, using a metaphor representing the government as a home, remarking: "we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order" followed immediately by the rhythmic alliteration of the statement "I favor as a practical policy the putting first of things first." The audience would relate the statement to their own life experiences of maintaining a home and setting priorities and would accept the validity of the remark as proof that Roosevelt's plans should be supported.

In the following phrase Roosevelt uses what Kenneth

Burke calls identification to rekindle in the American public the "American spirit of the pioneer." This identification would emphasize the heroic task before them and cast them as brave and strong adventurers.

The next statement incorporates both repetition and alliteration to drum home a point as Roosevelt dedicates the nation to the policy of the good neighbor: "the neighbor who resolutely respects himself . . . respects the rights of others . . . respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements." This would again draw the audience through the paragraph using rhythm and anticipation of the next repetition.

Roosevelt turns to military metaphor in the next paragraph, calling on the public to move "as a trained and loyal army . . . a unity hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife." He continues in this metaphor in the next statement as he makes the pledge: "I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems." This phrase solidifies his ethos as the strong and able leader of a great people.

Anaphora is once again used to sweep the audience up in the cadence of the speech as Roosevelt assures his listeners that the government can meet the "unprecedented task" despite an "unprecedented demand and need for undelayed

action." This is immediately followed with the use of alliteration, to assure the public that he would not "evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me" and continues beating a cadence, asking congress to "wage a war" as though they were "in fact invaded by a foreign foe."

Roosevelt then turns again to projecting a trustworthy and courageous ethos with the statement "For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less."

The final section of the speech, Aristotle's "epilogue," in which the case is restated to conclude the persuasion, is presented to the audience as though they are participants in each of Roosevelt's plans. By including the audience as allies, Roosevelt gives them an active role in their government, and, therefore, more reason to follow the plans presented to them as partially their own. Roosevelt begins with the reassuring statement, "We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity." Alliteration is used briefly, "with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values" Roosevelt concludes the paragraph with more alliteration, "We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life." By continuing the use of "we" throughout his epilogue Roosevelt draws the audience into his wishes and makes these wishes their own.

While Roosevelt includes the American public as participants in government, he also absolves them from fault in the problems of the preceding administration as he explains that, "The people of the United States have not failed." He then begins to list the "wishes" of the public using anaphora to hammer the point home. "In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present instrument of their wishes."

Roosevelt concludes the address with a statement to seal his god-fearing ethos "In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May he protect each and every one of us. May he guide me in the days to come."

\* \* \*

Roosevelt's Fourth Inaugural Address stands in stark contrast to his first. This wartime inauguration is the simplest in the history of the Presidency. It is a brief, almost curt, speech without the rousing calls to action found in the First Inaugural Address, and it contains an overtone of resignation to Roosevelt's optimism. He used more pauses in the speech, and punctuated these with dashes. At the time the speech was given, Roosevelt had already

served for twelve years in the White House. He was exhausted, and his health was rapidly failing. He begins by acknowledging his audience: "Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, my friends, . . ." the friends referred to are the American people, and this familiarity makes him more an intimate figure than an elected official. He goes on to make a rare concession to his ill health, " . . . you will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this inauguration be simple and its words brief." This is dramatically different from the opening paragraphs of "The First Inaugural" where he attempted to establish a bold and courageous image with the audience.

His next statement attempts to recapture that ethos of bravery and integrity he has maintained. In this address he uses the plural again, causing his comments to reflect as much on the American public as on himself. He explains that the times were a test, "of our courage--of our resolve--of our wisdom--of our essential decency."

In the ensuing paragraph he motivates the audience by giving them a sense of their historical value, "If we meet that test--successfully and honorably--we shall perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time."

The following statement is an acknowledgement of the importance of his oath and refers to his faith in God to

encourage the audience's trust in him, "having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen--in the presence of our God--I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail."

Anaphora is used in the next paragraph as Roosevelt promises, "We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately--but we shall still strive." This statement moves quickly as the audience anticipates each repetition while being lulled by the rhythmic hissing caused by the alliteration formed by using "s" sounds.

Roosevelt continues with a personal anecdote from his school-days, referring to a quote from his former schoolmaster, Dr. Peabody, which offers a note of optimism to his speech, assuring the audience that "the trend of civilization itself is forever upward." A personal story such as this one serves to make the audience feel closer to the orator and, since his schoolmaster is an academic--even his name sounds like the stereotypical "absent minded" professor--the statement would also be given more credibility by the audience.

In the next paragraph Roosevelt uses metaphor to represent the American government as a building, with the Constitution as the foundation: "Our Constitution . . . provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, . . . could build our solid structure of democracy." The



representation of the government as a solid and firm building would be a reassuring one to audiences.

Metaphor and repetition are combined in the subsequent paragraph as Roosevelt explains that " We have learned that we cannot live alone . . . our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations far away. We have learned that we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger." The audience would be moved quickly through this quote anticipating each repetition. They would be rewarded at the end with a graphic metaphor evoking the image of an ostrich hiding its head and another metaphor, representing spiteful selfishness, referring to a dog in the manger which alludes to a fable in which a dog selfishly refuses to allow the animals in a manger to eat their hay even though he can't eat it himself.

Anaphora and alliteration are combined in the following section as Roosevelt reminds his audience, "We have learned to be citizens of the world . . . We have learned the simple truth . . . We can gain no lasting peace . . . We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding, the confidence, and the courage which flow from conviction." The crisp quality of the "c" words neatly punctuates the final phrase. He immediately turns to more alliteration as he uses it to describe Americans as having "stout hearts and strong

arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom and truth."

Roosevelt concludes his address with an appeal and dedication to God concluding with the same phrase that ended his first inaugural address: "In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come."

## Conclusion

Roosevelt's presidency would be memorable if only based on the dramatic global events that occurred during his four terms in office. He is, however, also remembered by both scholars and citizens not only as a statesman, but as an individual who played a major role in their daily lives. For thirteen years, his presence was felt in family living rooms across the country as a familiar voice over the radio, and as a cinematic personality in neighborhood movie halls.

Roosevelt made brilliant use of the new avenues of mass media to directly address a voting populace as vast and as varied as the states in which they lived. This change in presidential audience required Roosevelt to carefully choose tropes which would appeal directly to the average American rather than to fellow politicians and other experienced orators. Using classical rhetorical techniques to elicit support, Roosevelt led the country through the Depression and World War II. His thirteen-year presidency not only saw the United States through major crises, his unprecedented direct appeals to the masses left an indelible mark on the future of presidential speaking, giving birth to the concept of the Rhetorical Presidency.

## Appendix A

### First Inaugural Address

Washington, March 4, 1933

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself--nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all

kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce; the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone.

More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money.

Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish

wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

Hand in hand with this we must frankly recognize the overbalance of population in our industrial centers and, by engaging on a national scale in a redistribution, endeavor to provide a better use of the land for those best fitted for the land. The task can be helped by definite efforts to raise the values of agricultural products and with this the power to purchase the output of our cities. It can be helped by preventing realistically the tragedy of the growing loss through foreclosure of our small homes and our farms. It can be helped by insistence that the Federal, State, and local governments act forthwith on the demand that their

cost be drastically reduced. It can be helped by the unifying of relief activities which today are often scattered, uneconomical, and unequal. It can be helped by national planning for and supervision of all forms of transportation and of communications and other utilities which have a definitely public character. There are many ways in which it can be helped, but it can never be helped merely by talking about it. We must act and act quickly.

Finally, in our progress toward a resumption of work we require two safeguards against a return of the evils of the old order: there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency.

These are the lines of attack. I shall presently urge upon a new Congress, in special session, detailed measures for their fulfillment, and I shall seek the immediate assistance of the several States.

Through this program of action we address ourselves to putting our own national house in order and making income balance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by



international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States--a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor--the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others--the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership

which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring political mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations.

It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us. But it may be that an unprecedented demand and need for undelayed action may call for temporary departure from that normal balance of public procedure.

I am prepared under my constitutional duty to recommend the measures that a stricken nation in the midst of a

stricken world may require. These measures, or such other measures as the Congress may build out of its experience and wisdom, I shall seek, within my constitutional authority, to bring to speedy adoption.

But in the event that the Congress shall fail to take one of these two courses, and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the clear course of duty that will then confront me. I shall ask the Congress for the one remaining instrument to meet the crisis--broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.

For the trust reposed in me I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time. I can do no less.

We face the arduous days that lie before us in the warm courage of national unity; with the clear consciousness of seeking old and precious moral values; with the clean satisfaction that comes from the stern performance of duty by old and young alike. We aim at the assurance of a rounded and permanent national life.

We do not distrust the future of essential democracy. The people of the United States have not failed. In their need they have registered a mandate that they want direct, vigorous action. They have asked for discipline and direction under leadership. They have made me the present

instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

## Appendix B

### Fourth Inaugural Address

January 20, 1945

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, my friends, you will understand and, I believe, agree with my wish that the form of this inauguration be simple and its words brief.

We Americans of today, together with our allies, are passing through a period of supreme test. It is a test of our courage--or our resolve--of our wisdom--of our essential decency.

If we meet that test--successfully and honorably--we shall perform a service of historic importance which men and women and children will honor throughout all time.

As I stand here today, having taken the solemn oath of office in the presence of my fellow countrymen--in the presence of our God--I know that it is America's purpose that we shall not fail.

In the days and in the years that are to come we shall work for a just and honorable peace, a durable peace, as today we work and fight for total victory in war.

We can and we will achieve such a peace.

We shall strive for perfection. We shall not achieve it immediately--but we shall still strive. We may make mistakes--but they must never be mistakes which result from faintness of heart or abandonment of moral principle.

I remember that my old schoolmaster, Dr. Peabody, said, in days that seemed to us then to be secure and untroubled: "Things in life will not always run smoothly. Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights--then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend."

Our Constitution of 1787 was not a perfect instrument; it is not perfect yet. But it provided a firm base upon which all manner of men, of all races and colors and creeds, could build our solid structure of democracy.

And we today, in this year of war, 1945, we have learned lessons--at a fearful cost--and we shall profit by them.

We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations -- far away. We have learned that we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.

We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community.

We have learned the simple truth, as Emerson said, that "The only way to have a friend is to be one."

We can gain no lasting peace if we approach it with suspicion and mistrust or with fear. We can gain it only if we proceed with the understanding, the confidence, and the courage which flow from conviction.

The Almighty God has blessed our land in many ways. He has given our people stout hearts and strong arms with which to strike mighty blows for freedom and truth. He has given to our country a faith which has become the hope of all peoples in an anguished world.

So we pray to Him now for the vision to see our way clearly--to see the way that leads to a better life for ourselves and for all our fellow men--to the achievement of His will, to peace on earth.

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